

Made in America 39.

A PLAN OF
RECONCILIATION
WITH
A M E R I C A,

[PRICE ONE SHILLING.]

*By Joseph Cawthorne,
17, King Street near
Hammersmith Turnpike.*

1782

PLAN OF
RECONCILIATION

WITH
A. C. A.



NEW YORK

[PRINTED ONE SHEET]

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of the American Church Association
NEW YORK

A PLAN OF
RECONCILIATION

WITH

A M E R I C A;

CONSISTENT WITH THE DIGNITY AND
INTERESTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

Humbly inscribed to the

K I N G.

Honi soit qui mal y pense.

L O N D O N:

Printed by J. P. COGHLAN, DUKE-STREET,
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M DCC LXXXII.

ASSOCIATION

WITH

A. M. E. B. L. D. G. AND

CONSISTENT WITH THE QUALITY AND

INTEREST OF THE COUNTRY

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R. S. B. G.

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A PLAN OF
RECONCILIATION
WITH
AMERICA;
CONSISTENT WITH THE DIGNITY AND
INTERESTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

Humbly inscribed to the

K I N G.

Honi soit qui mal y pense.

SIRE!

PERMISSION to approach the
Throne, with all humility, is
the undoubted privilege of freemen,
and a convincing proof of the wis-
dom and virtue of the Sovereign.

A

That

THAT sagacious Monarch the Emperor of Germany has greatly distinguished himself, from an early period of his reign, by his *personal* condescension to his subjects, and his permission for them to present their humble addresses and petitions to the Throne.

THE King of Prussia, the Hero of the Age, and the Pride of Human Acquisitions, with equal wisdom and virtue, has not only done the same, but he has frequently written himself to such subjects, whose talents and endeavours have been useful to the State.

ALTHOUGH, in this country, the Sovereign is not so accessible, as in the States of the above mentioned great Princes, yet Your Majesty has
as

as much condescension and indulgence whenever your subjects have the *rare felicity* of finding their way to the Royal Presence.

WITH accomplishments that exalt human nature and add lustre to a Throne, Your Majesty attends to the zeal of your loyal subjects, and encourages such as deserve attention and recompence.

CONVINCED of this goodness in Your Majesty, and knowing, by long experience, that British Ministers are as inaccessible as the Peruvian mountains, I presume to approach the Throne upon a subject of great national importance, that immediately concerns the dignity of Your Majesty's Crown and the

A 2 security

security and happiness of your subjects.

IN the consideration of a subject of such vast importance, in the present very alarming situation of things, I have every reason to believe, from the illustrious character of Your Majesty, that I shall be honored with as much attention and encouragement as, in a parallel case, I should receive from the sagacious monarchs of Germany and Prussia.

THE subject which, with all humility, approaches the Throne, is no less than a plan (which has long been wanted, and never more than at present) of RECONCILIATION with North America; consistent with the dignity of the Imperial Crown
of

of Great Britain, and the interest of both countries.

I SHALL not presume to trouble Your Majesty, as other men have troubled themselves, with the natural state of things, and dwell upon the obligations which undutiful Colonies owe to their parent state that has nourished them in their infancy, and protected them until they have acquired strength enough to contend with an indulging mother. These moral reflections are very pretty in private, but are nothing to the purpose in a public capacity; since the moral and political obligations are of a different nature. In private, gratitude is an eternal obligation. In public, states are no longer bound than they are too weak for resistance. No longer
connected

connected than it is their mutual interest. I do not contend for the principle ; I only state the fact. Where is the dependency that has not resisted when it was able? Where the states that have been connected when it was no longer their interest? Independency is the natural wish and the political creed of all Dependencies ; and interest is the great ruling principle of all nations.

THE present consideration, then, is not a moral but a political one! not a retrospect of what the Colonies in North America were, what relation they bore to Great Britain, nor what we could wish them to be still ; but merely, what their present situation is, and how much it is the interest of this nation to reconcile

concile them, and make them again good friends, instead of being, as they are at present, dangerous foes.

THE dispute between Great Britain and her revolted Colonies has, like many other unhappy disputes, gone beyond the line of reason; and the want of reciprocal concession having widened the breach, and made the parties, which, at first were only dissatisfied friends, now open and violent foes; and the dispute being no longer a point of right, but a struggle of strength, in which both have lost much, without a prospect of gaining any thing on either side; may I, most gracious Sovereign, be permitted to exercise the constitutional right of a free subject, and indeed the natural right
of

of all subjects, to approach the Throne, and humbly submit to the consideration of a wise and virtuous Monarch, my sentiments of a quarrel founded in error, and conducive to the disgrace and ruin of the contending parties?

SHOULD I be mistaken, in a matter of such extent and consequence, my zeal for an excellent Sovereign and love for my country will, I humbly hope, plead in excuse for my presumption. And if I am right Your Majesty's goodness will far, very far, exceed the merit of my zeal.

It is not necessary, in this place, most excellent Prince, to inquire how the misunderstanding originated, and by what means it was fostered

fostered into rebellion. Nor is it at all necessary to relate the unfortunate circumstances and events by which it is risen to the present alarming magnitude. The rise, the progress and the present state of things in North America, and the arguments for and against are too well known to require enumeration and elucidation to a Monarch so well informed and so attentive to the dignity of his Crown and to the happiness of his people.

It is, then, only requisite to say that as *internal* coercion has *failed*, and cannot be pursued any longer without the most dreadful apprehensions; and as *external* coercion (which is the most natural and compatible with the strength and genius of your Majesty's subjects) cannot

B

have

have the desired effect of replacing things in *statu quo* ; it being evident, to every candid mind, that coercion, in any shape, cannot prevail ; and that if it was to have the desired effect of subduing America, the inhabitants of that remote and extensive country will never be good subjects *by force* ; nor will it, even in case of acquisition, which is very problematical, be able, at so great a distance, to preserve the conquest, but at a monstrous expence, and even then precariously. And since there must be a full conviction on the royal mind of these great truths “ That it is fatal to “ pursue a shadow, and as fatal to “ relinquish the substance,” there can be no doubt but the middle path would be desirable, could it be obtained by RECONCILIATION.

Either

Either coercion of the one side, or independency of the other, are fatal to your Majesty's empire, without producing any great advantage to America; for when the Americans are freed from their natural dependence on your Majesty's Crown, it may reasonably be presumed that the French will possess the most valuable part, under some pretence or other, to prevent their increase of strength, and their subduing New Spain; which the French cannot, consistent with their own interest, or the honor of the FAMILY COMPACT, see taken from the King of Spain, as one of the Princes of the House of Bourbon.

BESIDES, the independency of North America would, in proportion as it gained strength, be an object of great jealousy both di-

rectly and indirectly to the Court of France. For what trade, to the East and West Indies, would be secure, when the independency of America has made the Americans a great, a flourishing and powerful people?

FRANCE, at present, may assist the revolted Colonies of Great Britain, but it is for her own purposes, and not for the love of the Americans; who differ with the French in religion, in sentiments and habits, as much as any two people can differ. It is, therefore, a friendship of necessity on both sides, and not of reciprocal interest; and, consequently, it is unnatural, and can last no longer than it suits the ambitious purposes of France.

I have

I HAVE said this, most gracious Sovereign, to shew that both Great Britain and America are losers by the dispute; for whatever their leaders may think of the matter, the people in America will find themselves, in the end, dupes to France; and that they have exchanged their condition for the worse, by an unnatural, delusive and ruinous connection with the House of Bourbon, instead of a natural, solid and advantageous one with Great Britain.

FROM a thorough conviction that both parties, viz. Great Britain and North America, will ultimately be equally involved in the ruin, it is the interest of both countries to reflect before reflection comes too late.

Of

Of the side of Great Britain coercion is necessary, because independency would be fatal to her power and interest.

Of the part of America resistance is now become an act of absolute necessity, until a reconciliation can be offered, that shall be equal to, or more advantageous than their independency.

THIS is the true state of the case; the consideration of which requires temper, a knowledge of the present state and future prospect, and of the interest of both, Party men see things with a distempered imagination. Their objects are, therefore, delusive, and their conclusions, at random, are equally fatal to the contending parties. But men of
 expe-

experience and candor, who have truth and virtue for their guide, and who admire their amiable Sovereign, and glory in the dignity of his Crown and the happiness of all his subjects, as well remote as near, will discover the *naked truth*, and draw a just conclusion, not delusive or injurious to either side.

THE British nation is at present divided in sentiments about America, thus:

THOSE in power are for coercion:

THOSE out of power are for relinquishing the object in pursuit, and leaving America independent.

In

In my apprehension both are in the wrong, as far as they tend to carry things to extremes, without a possibility of reconciliation.

Coercion ever has and ever will be necessary until a reconciliation can be brought about; which is so far from being impossible, in the present situation and temper of the parties, that I presume it easily attainable by an early and judicious application, not founded either on arrogance or humiliation.

Internal coercion has been fatal, and *external* coercion, though more natural and more to be depended on, is both expensive and precarious; and should it be effectual the event will not, as I have observed, either secure the *authority*, or the *exclusive right of trade*, which are
already

already lost, and will be irrecoverable by coercion. And since they will be lost to this nation, and the consequence of that loss may be fatal to your Majesty's other dominions, I think there can be no doubt of the expediency of a reconciliation, before it be too late to offer any terms.

I HAVE, from the beginning of the dispute, argued thus: Unshackle the Americans of every impolitic restriction, and leave them at liberty to pursue their interest and happiness: Only secure their *legislative* dependence, which will answer all your purposes; and should it not answer every purpose, it will have this good effect,—it will detach them from France, and from every other nation, and prevent their injuring us directly, or indirectly, by throw-

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ing the advantage into the scale of our enemies. This salutary intimation was given several years ago, it was neglected and the consequence of that neglect has been ruinous both in blood and treasure, and may prove fatal. Their resistance and alliance with France is, by the fortune of war, now become almost irresistible on our part.

BUT bad as the prospect is of success, on the other side the Atlantic, and precarious the consequence, in case of success, let us now stop for a moment, and see if this unnatural quarrel, between parties allied by every tie of inclination, language, religion and interest, can be put an end to, by a RECONCILIATION, so consistent with the
dignity

and interest of both as to give to both such satisfaction as shall not only bring about an accommodation, but make it permanent, by reciprocal advantages, which is the great foundation of friendship; for interest never lies.

My doctrine from the beginning was, as I have said, Secure the Americans *legislatively*, and every thing else will follow like cause and effect. Nothing but a mode of *legislation* was necessary to gratify them and to satisfy us. Taxation was absurd, the Declaratory Bill absurder still. They both discovered contracted ideas of Government, unjust in one respect and impolitic in another. The Commission for a Reconciliation was a mere farce, a burlesque upon the nation, and a mockery of

authority. The Americans were so sensible of this that they laughed at it. They could not be serious with Commissioners that did not seem to come upon a serious errand. The object of the Commission was an indignity to the legislature, and the Commissioners were an insult to the Americans. There was, it is true, a noble Earl, with a disposition the most amiable, with good abilities and an excellent heart, but he was too young for a delegation which required the greatest gravity, experience and political address. His dear friend, with more plausibility than political knowledge, was still more unfit for the business of negotiation and reconciliation with the shrewd Americans. And the Governor was absolutely a burlesque upon the Commission.

What

WHAT success could be expected from the dignity, the address, and strange talents of such a deputation? Was there wisdom in the one or virtue enough in the other to bring about so desirable an object? But had there been a concurrence of abilities and an union of sentiment, together with a determination in the Commissioners, the deputation could not, even then, have produced the proper effect; because the object of the commission was as defective as the means of attaining it.

To repeal acts which could have no effect, is laughable; and to expect men advanced so far and so well supported, to return to their private stations is equally ludicrous. It is true, when Mr. Washington unsheathed the sword, he declared that
 he

he would sheathe it and return to his private station whenever the reasonable purposes of taking up arms were accomplished. But that promise was delusive, and never was intended to be performed, in case of success; and as the success has exceeded his expectations, can it now be supposed that such a deputation, as we have seen, will induce him to perform his promise, and return to a private situation, regardless of his military authority and the gratification of his ambition? Whoever can think so must know little of human nature and human ambition. And were it possible that Mr. Washington could be so regardless of his military reputation and consequence as to relinquish his public gratifications and return to the duties of a private Gentle-

Gentleman, can it be supposed that the Members of the Congress, and the civil and military officers, who from very private men are now *drunk* with authority, would do the same?

THEN, since this is impossible, and as the former ideas of conciliation are impracticable, and since coercion is as precarious as their independency, would be fatal, there seems to remain only one method of reconciliation, to remove these seeming unsurmountable obstacles, and to make those friends who are at present the worst enemies.

NOTHING that has hitherto been said or done will bring about this great, this desirable object. Admitting, what is very problematical,
that

that North America may be subdued, the conquest would be a defeat, by exhausting and endangering us in the pursuit, without a compensation in the acquisition; since the acquisition would be always precarious, by the refractory temper of the people and their restlessness.

In this alarming situation of things, Providence, in her goodness to the nation, as a divine recompence for Your Majesty's exalted virtues, seems to have left one method of reconciliation, which, if soon proposed, and in a proper manner, I think cannot fail of promoting that happy effect.

I HAVE said, most gracious Sovereign, the proposal must come from the Crown. May it then please
Your

Your Majesty to propose a reconciliation with the Americans, and to offer them “ a Government of their
“ own, and a Legislature upon the
“ principles of the Irish nation?”

This will be a *concession* without a *sacrifice* on the part of Great Britain, and an *acquisition* without *independency* on the part of America. North America will be a *separate* nation, but not an *independent* one, as it will be legislatively dependent on Great Britain as Ireland is. That separate Government will come near to their notions of independency, and, in fact, be superior to it; because they will have the friendship and interest of Great Britain to establish their Government, and render them a great and flourishing nation.

D

This

THIS idea of a separate Government will gratify the leaders of the Americans exceedingly, as they will preserve their civil and military employments; and, with their *authority*, their *consequence*; which is what they are too fond of to part with, and this seems to be the only manner in which they can preserve it with safety and honor to this nation, and with advantage to themselves greater than they can require and expect from an unnatural connection with France.

AN UNION, * which is far from being a blessing to Scotland, would be ridiculous.

Nothing

* By the Union the Scots may be said to have "sold their Birth-right for a Mess of Pottage." They have sacrificed the noblest privileges and
relinquished

Nothing can be more absurd than an Union with rebellious subjects, or indeed with any subjects.

It relinquished the dearest rights. An illustrious Nobility have made a surrender of their national dignity, and delegated to a few the power of the whole. The Scots Noblesse, from being the most illustrious and independent, are now the most dependent and abject. They have only the name left, for the dignity and the spirit of the Nobility were surrendered together at the Union. That Union has been as great an advantage to the English as it has been a disadvantage to the Scots: For it has drained their country, exhausted population and industry, and left Scotland, like the last stage of human nature described by the Poet--- "*sans* every thing." The Scots fight the battles of their Allies and spend their money amongst them, and, in return for all these sacrifices, from a spirited people, whose lives and fortunes are at the service of the English, they are wantonly and grossly abused with personal reproaches and national reflections as unjust, as they are illiberal.

D 2

From

It is a perfect solecism. Nor would it answer any purpose to either side. Representation in England of a country so remote would be ridiculous, and attended with the greatest inconvenience and fatality; for it would be impossible to judge so right of a country at 3000 miles distance as of Scotland which joins us.

It is, therefore, evident that national consequence is the great object that the Americans aim at, and the only thing your Majesty can give to gratify their ambition, and to promote the great purposes of a

FROM such a picture of the folly and sufferings of the Scots nation, is it to be supposed that the Americans or the Irish, after such a melancholy example, can wish to surrender their national rights for a subordinate Union with England?

reconciliation.

reconciliation. This can, in my apprehension, be easily done, by offering the Americans a Government upon the footing of Ireland, which is very short of independency.

A LEGISLATURE of their own, with a Viceroy, would be such a change of situation, and so gratifying, that I think they would cheerfully accept of it, as nothing they have in view through the French, can be equal to such an acquisition on their side.

SUCH a Government can easily be established. Your Majesty, by the creation of Peers, from the leading men of Congress and the army, would secure their fidelity, and the Commons would be elective.

This

This sound policy would detach the Colonies from France, and secure them in the interest of Great Britain. A great deal would be saved, by not having them enemies, and a great deal acquired, by having them friends.

THE creation of Peers, in America, would be an acquisition of honor that would gratify them, without a sacrifice on the part of this nation. And, I dare say, it will be allowed that this honorable distinction had better be made than to receive the loss, the disgrace and ruin that will be entailed on this nation, by a fatal separation.

THIS great stroke of policy will disappoint the French, and mortify them exceedingly by defeating
all

all their ambitious purposes in America, and in the East and West Indies, as the consequence of their gaining, as they expect, a footing in America.

ALTHOUGH the French will naturally endeavor to defeat so wise a plan of reconciliation between Great Britain and America, which will render their designs, on the other side the Atlantic, visionary; yet, it is so advantageous to the Americans that there is every reason to believe they will have sense and virtue enough to prefer so natural and honorable an alliance with your Majesty, to an unnatural and precarious one with the French.

Should

SHOULD this noble plan of reconciliation take place, what has passed on both sides, will be buried in oblivion. And should it be said that the Americans are in the power of the French, and that France will threaten them with their displeasure, and keep possession to indemnify their expences; I answer: They will have nothing to fear from their threats, as Great Britain will assist them to drive the French out of America, and restore peace, trade and happiness to that distracted country.

THERE seems to be only this method left to preserve the dignity of the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, and to secure the exclusive advantage of commerce with America; both which national objects other persons have long given up for lost:

For,

For, not even Ministers have, at present, a serious thought of seeing either *authority* or *commerce*, on the other side the Atlantic, return to the advantage of your Majesty's kingdom.

With all humility, I have the happiness to be,

Your Majesty's

most dutiful Subject,

THE AUTHOR.

E

TO

(26)

TO THE
LEGISLATURE.

SINCE writing the above to his Majesty, I have accidentally seen a short "Plan of Pacification with "America" published on the 9th instant in a news-paper, and which did not come to my knowledge until the 26th. The Author's ideas are, in substance, so near my own that I wish him the encouragement which his good intentions deserve. I am no rival of his merit, but an admirer

admirer of every thing that is calculated to promote the public good, and a most zealous advocate for a speedy reconciliation with the revolted Colonies.

ALTHOUGH the reasons which the writer assigns for the disposition of the Americans to be reconciled, are, in my apprehension, speculative, and little to be depended upon, yet his intention is good, and his plan, though defective, the best, in my opinion, that has been offered to the Public. “ Let us, says the
 “ Writer, make one effort more to
 “ restore America to our bosom.
 “ Let us invite the Colonies to share
 “ with us, by the most firm and
 “ solemn compact, in all the blessings and privileges of the British
 “ Constitution, and every liberty not

“ *inconsistent with our* (with their
“ *he means) being a part of the same*
“ *Empire.*

“ WITH a view to promote so
“ desirable a purpose, I beg leave
“ to submit to the Public the fol-
“ lowing Plan, by which, it appears
“ to me, the force and interest of
“ the whole Empire may be com-
“ bined, without injuring the li-
“ berty of any of its component
“ parts.—It is humbly proposed,

“ 1. That the supreme legislative
“ authority over the Colonies shall
“ be vested in a Continental Con-
“ gress, or AMERICAN PARLIA-
“ MENT, whose powers and privi-
“ leges shall resemble those of the
“ Parliaments in Ireland and in
“ Great Britain.

That

THAT this may be fully understood, let the Americans have a legislature of their *own* upon the principles of the British Constitution. This requires abilities to understand as it borders on independency.

“ 2. THAT, of consequence, the
“ American Parliament shall have
“ the exclusive power of taxation,
“ regulating the internal polity of
“ America, and ascertaining the
“ number of troops to be kept up
“ in each Colony.”

THAT will follow like cause and effect. It is the *superstructure* raised on the above *foundation*. Legislation implies taxation and every other regulation of the executive powers, both civil and military. The late Lord Chatham's distinction, was that
of

of a blockhead. His inconsistent American doctrine was the cause of all our misfortunes in America. The noble Earl gloried in American resistance, he encouraged that spirit of resistance, and died with dependency in his mouth. This was the immortal man!!! The most inconsistent minister this nation ever produced had 3000l. per annum from Government while he gloried in the resistance of America, and 4000l. per annum was entailed on his posterity, for condemning this struggle for independency which is the natural consequence of the resistance he encouraged. Such was the virtue of the immortal man! and such the wisdom of Government !

“ 3. That the American Parlia-
 “ ment shall consist of Delegates
 “ from

“ from each Province, forming an
 “ House of Commons, and of *Ame-*
 “ *rican Peers*, to be appointed by
 “ his Majesty, constituting an *House*
 “ *of Lords.*”

WHEN they have a legislature upon the model of the British Constitution, their Commons will, of course, be elected, and their Peers created. Of the former they are the best judges; and let us hope that they will have wisdom and virtue enough to correct the defect of our constituent body, and avoid the rotten part of the constitution.

“ 4. THAT the *supreme executive*
 “ *power of the Empire* shall be, as
 “ heretofore, in the Sovereign of the
 “ State.”

The

THE Americans having a legislature of their own, the legislative and executive powers will be independent of the legislature of Great Britain, reserving only the *supremacy of the Sovereign*. This is what the kingdom of Ireland contends for, but hitherto without success. Although the granting more to America than to Ireland would be unjust to the latter, yet any terms are better than a separation and the enmity of the Colonies. I conceive that the supremacy of the whole Legislature, King, Lords and Commons of this country, instead of the King only, would occasion great difficulties and endless disputes, for want of local knowledge at so great a distance as 3000 miles.

" 5. That

“ 5. That a Viceroy, or *Lord*
“ *Lieutenant*, with a negative on
“ any acts of the American Parlia-
“ ment, shall preside as the Repre-
“ sentative of the Sovereign in the
“ Colonies.”

A Viceroy in the *kingdom* of North America will preside as the representative of the Sovereign only, and not of the Parliament of Great Britain.

“ 6. THAT the domestic and local
“ affairs of every Province shall be re-
“ gulated by Provincial Legislatures,
“ subordinate to the American Par-
“ liament.”

A LEGISLATURE within a legisla-
ture, or a supreme and subordinate le-
gislation is the most absurd and ruinous
F system

system of Government. What right have their Provinces more than our Counties to a subordinate legislature? Remoteness and extent do not, in my apprehension, require such a distinction.

So far the Plan of Pacification has my concurrence.

“ 7. THAT a NATIONAL PARLI-
 “ AMENT be constituted and held in
 “ Great Britain, composed of Depu-
 “ ties from the Commons and House
 “ of Lords of Great Britain, Ireland,
 “ and America, with authority to
 “ manage and regulate (subject to
 “ the negative of the Sovereign)
 “ THE GENERAL AFFAIRS AND IN-
 “ TERESTS OF THE EMPIRE, leaving
 “ to the distinct Legislature of each
 “ of these component parts of the
 “ State,

“ State, the power of taxation and
 “ regulation of its own internal po-
 “ lity.”

NOTHING can be so absurd in principle and ruinous in effect, as this idea. It would be an union subversive of the constitution of this country, and of the authority and interest of the whole. Neither Ireland nor America will accept of an union that would render them more dependent than they choose to be. Ireland is a separate nation with a legislature of her own, which she will not be so weak as Scotland, to her sorrow, has been, to relinquish for a subordinate union. And as America may claim the same degree of independency, she will, with more reason at so great a distance, reject such an union.

“ THE objection of America to
“ sending members to Parliament,
“ from the fear of their being *out-*
“ *numbered*, might be removed.”

THIS, which would be the most
ridiculous thing on the part of Ame-
rica at 3000 miles distance, is ren-
dered unnecessary by my proposal to
give them a legislature of their own,
subject only to the King's supre-
macy.

“ THE ports of America would
“ be open to all the world in time
“ of peace, but shut to our enemies
“ in intime of war, and the strength
“ and interest of the *whole empire*
“ *combined* with safety, to the *perfect*
“ *liberty of every part.*”

THIS is the public blessing and
the

the national advantage of an early reconciliation with America.

“ THE ports of America will be
 “ open to all the world in time of
 “ PEACE, but shut to the enemies of
 “ Great Britain in time of WAR.”
 Instead of the present separation and
 enmity, which are so fatal to this
 nation, we shall have an union and
 the friendship of America. Although
 the authority will be different, yet
 the dignity of the Crown will be
 preserved, and our commercial in-
 terests promoted ; to the mortifica-
 tion and disappointment of our ene-
 mies in general, and of the French
 in particular.

It must not, however, be ex-
 pected that the Americans, with a
 legislature of their own, will be sub-
 ject

ject to the restrictions of the Act of Navigation, the most unjust act that ever was invented. As trade should be free and unconfined as the air, so they will have the freedom of navigation which is the greatest liberty of a commercial people. The restrictions of the Navigation Act are so selfish, in regard to Britain, and so oppressive, with respect to her dependencies, that it is astonishing they have so long submitted to the fetters of that unjust and impolitic act, which should be repealed as a disgrace to the nation.

It will perhaps be said that I have gone too far by *erecting the Colonies into a separate nation, with a legislature of their own, subject to the King's supremacy*, which is better than the condition of our good friends

friends the Irish, and very near to absolute independency; but, as I think nothing short of this will be accepted, so nothing less should, for our own credit, be proposed. The making them only subject to the supremacy of the Sovereign is because the supremacy of the legislature, at so great a distance, would occasion endless disputes and unsurmountable difficulties. It would be an inconvenience to the Americans without an advantage to Great Britain.

Should it be said that the King's supremacy may be considered as nominal, I answer, should it prove so, the FAMILY COMPACT between Great Britain and America, like that of the House of Bourbon, would be attended with the greatest political
and

and commercial advantages both directly, as they would benefit us, and indirectly, as they would injure our enemies.



Should it be said that the King's
 Majesty may be considered as no-
 mind, I answer, should it prove so,
 the Treaty Contract between
 Great Britain and America, like that
 of the House of Bourbon, would be
 attended with the greatest political
 and

